

POLITICS IS NOT FOR WOMEN?

OVER THE HEDGE

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POLITICS?
IS NOT FOR WOMEN

OVER THE HEDGE

EESC
Eastern Europe Studies Centre

LYGIŲ GALIMYBIŲ PLĖTROS CENTRAS

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CONTENTS

INSTEAD OF INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in politics is one of the key indicators measuring the quality of democracy. Democracy, in turn, is one of the key indicators of social progress.

> Democratic governance is based on the rule of law, protection of minorities, human rights and a well-developed network of institutions able to implement democratic objectives.

Developing the concept of democracy, Silvia Walby[1] identifies three stages of its advance: *electoral democracy*, *participatory democracy* and *open democracy*. She considers electoral democracy basic and the most elementary level of democracy. In the 21st century in Europe its attainment is no longer an indicator of progress. Electoral democracy is defined by the following five main indicators:

- absence of inherited or non-elective positions in the government;
- absence of colonies, since colonial rule is always not democratic;
- absence of other non-democratic forms of governance (organized religions, for example);
- free and fair elections conducted under conditions of freedom of speech and peaceful assembly;
- universal suffrage.

Participatory democracy is a deeper form of democracy, as it sets not only quantitative but also qualitative objectives. Apart from strengthening

1 Sylvia Walby (2009) *Globalization and Inequalities Complexity and Contested Modernities,* UK: SAGE Publications.

formal citizens' rights, it guarantees the actual participation of different social groups (women in particular) in the political processes. The depth of participatory democracy is defined by the following four indicators:

- small cost of elections;
- proportional representation;
- quotas in the electoral system for disadvantaged social groups;
- proportional representation of women and ethnic minorities.

The third and the highest level of democracy - open democracy - in Walby's opinion is achieved when the work of a wide range of institutions is founded on democratic principles.

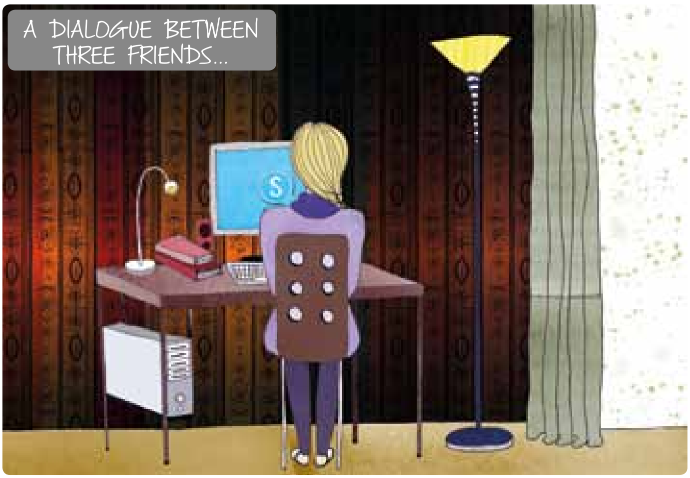
However, the progress in society is not even, not all groups can enjoy its results. Women and men do not have equal opportunities to participate in building democracy and to profit from its achievements. As yet[2], the average number of women parliamentarians in the world is 20.3%. The leading countries are Rwanda (56.3%), Andorra (50%), Cuba (45.2%) and Sweden (44.7%), the outsiders are Qatar and Saudi Arabia, where there are no women in parliament.

Democracy without guarantees of women's rights and the rights of disadvantaged groups is not a real democracy that should be built on human rights and equality of all citizens.

2 The data from January 1, 2013. For more information see: Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in national parliaments <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010113.htm>, 2013

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS AS A MEASURE OF PROGRESS

The presence of women in national parliaments is an indicator of gender equality and the depth of democracy in the society. The balance of political representation of sexes is rated as one of the indicators defining the progress of a state. It is measured every year in the world index of the differences between men and women. The Global Report of the World Economic Forum on Gender Equality for 2012 does not provide information on Belarus and Ukraine. Yet the data for Lithuania, which was 34th





among 111 countries, shows that aspects of political rights and potential for women did not allow the country to take a higher place. Having a female president and, at the time of assessment, the Speaker of Parliament, as well as the ministers of defence and finance, according to the criteria of the political rights for women Lithuania gained only 0.1469 of a point and took the 60th place, when women access to and participation in economic activities was evaluated as 0.7551, health and survival at 0.9791, and the level of education at 0.9954 of a point.

Currently women represent 26.6% of the House of Representatives of the National Assembly in Belarus, 24.1% of the Seimas in Lithuania and 9.4% of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.[3]

So far, none of the parliaments of the analyzed countries has such a number of women MPs that would significantly affect the content of the policy, paying more attention to the issues directly related to women, including social protection, education, health care, coordination of professional and family responsibilities, violence against women and others.

The situation at the local level is a little better, but only on the lowest level of representation. After 2010 local elections in Belarus, Minsk city council

3 : Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in national parliaments”, : <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010113.htm>, 2013.



runs to 26.3% of women, regional councils - 17.3%, district councils - 29.4%, urban regional councils - 26.5%, urban district councils - 41.8%, borough councils - 40.8% and village councils - 49.3%.

In Ukraine, 2010 local elections brought 21.4% of women to the city councils of the cities of regional and national importance, 20.8% to district councils, 29.2% to urban regional councils, and 32.2% in urban district councils. 7 women became heads of regional cities (4.0%), 18 became heads of cities of district importance (6.5%) and 151 heads of villages (19.5%).

In Lithuania, after the 2011 elections, women in municipal councils amounted to 22.41%. Currently, there are 60 mayors in Lithuania, six of whom are women (10%).






I EXPECTED THEM TO SUPPORT ME, BUT INSTEAD THERE WERE RUMOURS AND I LEARNT MUCH ABOUT MYSELF...
THAT MY FAMILY IS DOOMED, I SOLD AWAY MY DIGNITY, AND ALTOGETHER I AM NOT A WOMAN...
YES, IT HAPPENS...
ONE COLLEAGUE, WHO ALWAYS USED TO BE SO COURTEOUS, WOULD ALWAYS BRING FLOWERS AND SWEETS, NOW HOLDS ME UP TO RIDICULE AND SAYS I AM A FOOL...

THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIETY TOWARDS WOMEN IN POLITICS

Some people believe that when a democratic election leads to a low percentage of women representation, it is a consequence of either opinion of the electorate that does not trust female candidates, or lack of willingness to participate in politics from women‘s side. However, the analysis of the situation in Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine reveals a more complex set of reasons.

In 2010, the Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Studies (IISEPS) conducted a poll[4] on the attitude of Belarusians to women in politics.[5] When asked, «Regarding the participation of women candidates

4 IISEPS, "Gender based specific features of electoral behaviour" The archive of IISEPS analyses, <http://iiseps.org/old/06-10-07.html>

5 The poll was conducted in the period between local and presidential elections.



in the presidential election, there are different opinions. Which of them do you share?» The respondents answered as follows:

Answer		%
Against (55.6%)	The country should be led by a man	27,1
	Politics is not for women	17,1
	There are no worthy candidates among women	6,9
	Women only should take care of the house and children	4,5
For (18.2%)	If a woman becomes the president, concern for people and attention to people’s needs will increase	5,1
	If there are more women in politics, there will be more order in the country	4,1
	I will vote for a female presidential candidate, as her positive feminine features will improve the political atmosphere in general	4
	I am a woman, and I will support women at elections	2,6
	I am fed up with men in politics, to make positive changes in the sphere we need to involve more women there	2,4
Neutral (60.2)	A woman is not going to be elected president in Belarus	18
	The candidate’s sex is not going to influence my choice	42,2

The results of the survey showed that the number of potential supporters of women candidates is smaller than the number of opponents. However, women, people under 50 with general and specialized secondary education are more likely to support a woman candidacy for president. Traditional



ideas about the roles of men and women in society still cause negative attitude.

In Lithuania, a longitudinal study „Women in Lithuanian Society", conducted since 1994 (1994, 2000 and 2009) showed that public opinion about women's participation in politics in general is becoming more favourable, although the tendencies of attitude change are significantly different for men and women:

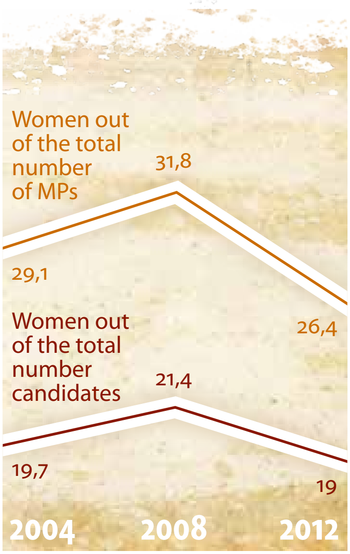
	1994		2000		2009	
	Men, %	Women, %	Men, %	Women, %	Men, %	Women, %
Women should not take part in politics at all	31	23	22	15	12	5
Women should participate in politics in the same way, as they do now	43	41	61	55	55	42
Women should be more active in politics	18	28	16	30	15	36

During fifteen years (1994-2009), the number of women who think that women should be more involved in politics, increased by 8 percentage points (from 28% to 36%), but the number of men who agree with the statement decreased from 18% to 15%. The number of respondents who believe that women should not participate in politics significantly reduced. Among women, it decreased from 23% to 5% (by 18 percentage points), while among men - from 31% to 12% (19 percentage points). Neverthe-





Figure 1. **Correlation of the number of women candidates and MPs after the elections to the House of Representatives of the National Assembly of Belarus.**



less, there are still 2.4 times more men among those who think that women should not be involved in politics.[6]

A survey conducted by Ukrainian Women's Fund in conjunction with the Fund «Democratic Initiatives» named after Ilko Kucheriv[7] found twice more supporters (47%) than opponents (25%) of the idea of increase in the representation of women in local government. Men were distributed approximately equally between those who approve of and do not endorse the idea of involving more women, while six out of ten women were in favour of a more active participation of women in local government. The results of the survey in Ukraine showed that for the majority of respondents (59%) the gender of a local council or mayor candidate does not matter. Most of the residents of Lithuania also do not consider important if women are involved in politics or not (in 2009, 55% of men and 42% women were satisfied with the current situation).[8]

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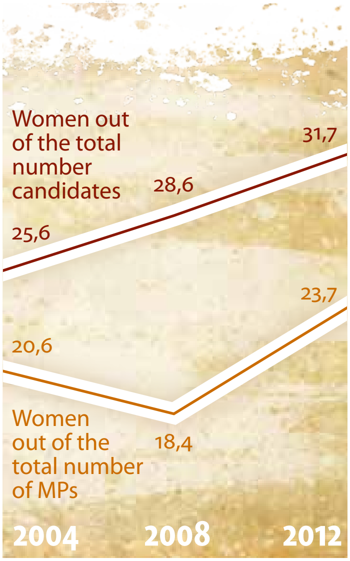
6 Rasa Custom Ališauskienė and Giedrė Purvaneckienė, (2009) „Moterys politikoje: ar sulauksime padaugėjimo“. Lyčių studijos ir tyrimai. Nr. 7, Šiauliai: Šiaulių universitetas, . P.6-15 Prieiga internete: http://www.su.lt/mokslas/mokslo-leidiniai/ml-lyciu-studijos-ir-tyrimai/2009-nr7

7 The representative survey was carried out on 3-15 October, 2010 by «Ukrainian Sociology Service».

8 Rasa Ališauskienė and Giedrė Purvaneckienė



Figure 2. **Correlation of the number of women candidates and MPs after the elections to the Seimas of Lithuania**



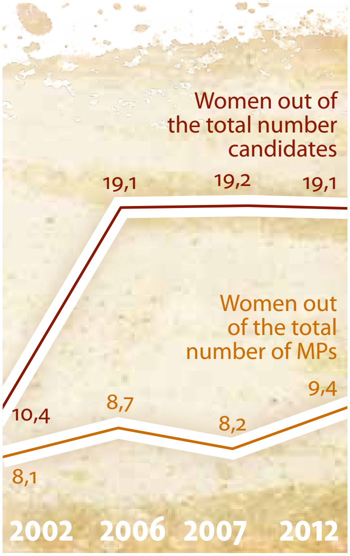
Supposedly neutral attitude of the electorate to the gender of a candidate often speaks only of lack of understanding women's role in politics and the importance of their presence

The indifference of the voters to the participation of women in politics affects their ability to be elected. The analysis of the situation in Lithuania and Ukraine (Fig. 2, 3) shows that the increase in the number of female candidates does not automatically lead to the increase of women MPs in the national parliaments. That means, that the increase of the political activity of women is not sufficient to guarantee that they are elected. It is particularly noticeable in the case of Ukraine. In Belarus (Fig. 1) there are opposite tendencies, that may be explained by the fact that women run in those districts where there is no or minimal competition.

More active participation of women in politics is not only the matter of formal justice and equality in society. Gender balance in the national gov-



Figure 3. **Correlation of the number of women candidates and MPs after the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine**



ernment improves the quality of policy making and policies that address the needs of women, and reduce the likelihood of corruption. Sociological analysis shows that women‘s participation in politics and trade union activities is linked with the adoption of measures to encourage their participation in the labour market, especially by providing a higher per capita income and reducing the risk of poverty. When more women are involved in decision-making, more money is allocated for social needs, especially the needs of children up to 3 years, helping to reduce economic inequality.

The analysis shows that fewer women are killed in the countries where there are more women in the parliament, because only effective protection laws against domestic violence often supported by female MPs guarantee safety of women.[9] Finally, when there are more women in power, there is more accountability and a more transparent decision-making process, ensured by the variety of decision-makers and destruction of elites established networks. Therefore, parity representation of women in politics is not a formal requirement, but a matter of policy content.

9 Sylvia Walby





Women's participation in politics also has a symbolic meaning. It improves their social position and reduces social differences between the sexes.

There is an opinion that gender equality in politics is one of the most important factors allowing changes on the way to developing a system, ensuring gender equality in society. For that reason, it is important to understand what institutional mechanisms could promote greater representation of women.

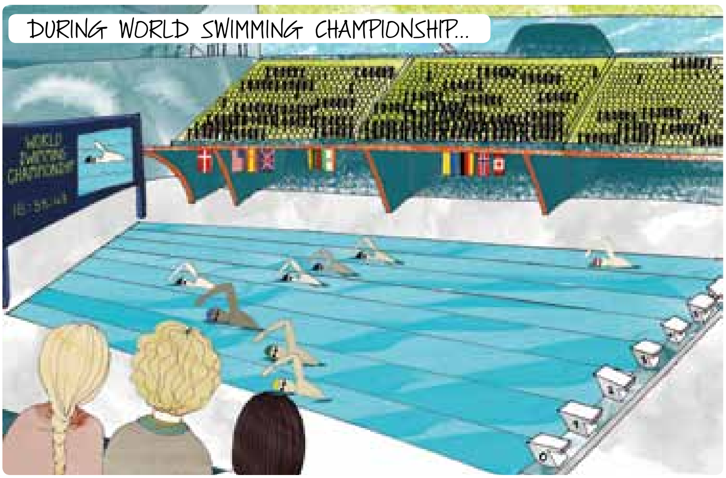


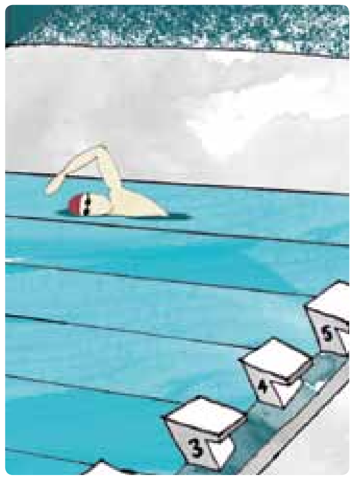

AS FOR MEN, THEY ARE DIVIDED MORE OR LESS EVENLY REGARDING MORE ACTIVE WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS.


SURE, THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED SINCE 1994, BUT IT IS STILL EARLY TO SAY THERE ARE EQUAL POSSIBILITIES.



THE IMPACT OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM ON THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN





The ideas (stereotypes) that the electorate has in relation to women's participation in politics are important but it is not the only factor affecting their representation. No less important is the electoral system, which differs in Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine.

In Belarus, the system is majoritarian. It presupposes that a person will be elected provided he /she obtains a majority of vote in the constituency where he / she runs. Majoritarian electoral system is favourable for major political forces and cuts off smaller parties. For this reason, representatives of Belarusian opposition parties criticized this system and stand for amendments to the Electoral Code. They insist on a shift to a proportional system, which provides for voting by party lists, or to a mixed system. However, judging by the statements of the Chairman of the CEC[10], changes in the electoral legislation in Belarus are not likely in the near future. 30% quota for women in Belarus is an unspoken result of political pressure from the president.[11]

Law on Elections to the Seimas of the Lithuanian Republic and the Election Law of the municipal councils provide universal and equal suffrage

10 Lidiya Yermoshina, "Mixed electoral system for Belarus is sort of being half-pregnant" Minsk, 2013 <http://belapan.by/archive/2012/10/17/581648/>

11 Naviny.by "Lukashenka believes that presidency is not for women" Minsk, 2011 <http://naviny.by/rubrics/politic/2011/10/07/ic_news_112_377986/> „We did it on purpose, under my severe pressure. I always trust women more than men - they are more responsible, less adventurous and less corrupt. I do not even remember when we convicted a woman of corruption."



by secret ballot. The parliamentary elections are based on mixed electoral system. One half of the members of the Seimas[12] is elected in majority constituencies, and the other - by open party lists. Municipal council elections are held under the proportional electoral system, with each municipality constituting a municipal electoral district, where people vote for party lists. None of the laws of the Republic of Lithuania provides for the requirements to adhere to the proportional representation of women and men.

A mixed electoral system functions in Ukraine since 2012. Half of the MPs are elected by closed party lists and the other half in majority constituencies.[13] From 2006 to 2012, Ukraine had proportional system of closed party lists. Earlier, in 1998-2006, the system was mixed, and in the years 1991-1998 it was majoritarian. Gender quotas have never been introduced in Ukraine at any of the representation levels.

An international comparative analysis shows that the electoral system cannot be neglected, considering the issues of women's representation. Having studied data from 168 countries for the years 1992-2010 on the impact of political institutions on the level of women's representation in politics, it was found that the electoral system strongly influences the results together

12 There are 141 MPs in the Lithuanian Seimas.

13 There are 445 MPs in the Supreme Council of Ukraine.





with the country's economic development level, which is reflected in the Human Development Index (HDI)[14].

Economic level of the country and the existing electoral system are the key factors of women's engagement in politics

Studies have also shown that the level of economic development has a positive effect on women's representation in politics. In the countries with the HDI of more than 0.9, the change of electoral system to a more favourable for women's participation is two, three or even four times more efficient than in developing or underdeveloped countries.[15]

However, one should not underestimate the impact of the electoral system. The analyses showed that the electoral system on the basis of party lists is the most favourable for women. However, in affluent countries the system

14 The Human Development Index (HDI) is a figure calculated annually for comparison and measurement of the level of life expectancy, literacy, education and longevity as the main characteristics of the human potential of a society under study. HDI is a standard tool for comparing the overall standard of living in different countries and regions. The index is published in the UN Human Development Report every year since 1990.

15 Jennifer Rosen (2013)"The Effects of Political Institutions on Women's Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis of 168 Countries from 1992 to 2010",*Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 66 no. 2.



of open lists is more effective for women, than the system of closed lists. In developing and underdeveloped countries, closed lists give the best results. With closed lists the voters do not have the ability to change the position of the candidate on the list, so stereotypical attitudes towards women do not affect the outcome of elections. The deciding voice on the advancement of women remains within the parties. The advocacy should be carried out in this direction.

Mixed electoral system gives less favourable effects regarding women. The most problematic one is majoritarian electoral system (Figure 4).

Studies show that quotas have a different effect on the representation of women in developed, developing and underdeveloped countries. In the countries with high level of economic development scholars do not find statistically significant differences in the representation of women connected with introduction of quotas. Developed countries that introduced quotas, tend to have a lower average number of women in parliament than the developed countries without quotas.

However, the national quota in the developing and underdeveloped countries, lead to a significant increase in the number of women in parliament (Fig. 5). The strongest positive effect of quotas is manifested in the least developed countries, such as Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. In such countries, the introduction of national gender quotas significantly contributes to the higher percentage of women in parliament (8.5 percentage points higher) than in the other countries of the region, where there are no quotas.[16]

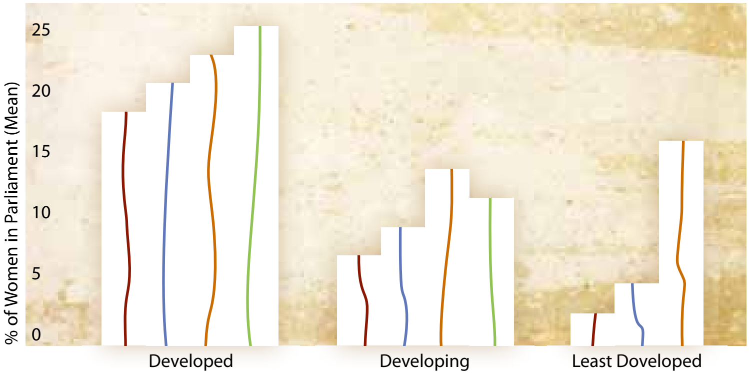
16 *Ibid.*



Figure 4. **Women's representation in parliaments. Correlation of the economic development of countries and the electoral system.**[1]

Type of Electoral System:

- Majoritarian
- Mixed
- Closed list PR
- Open list PR

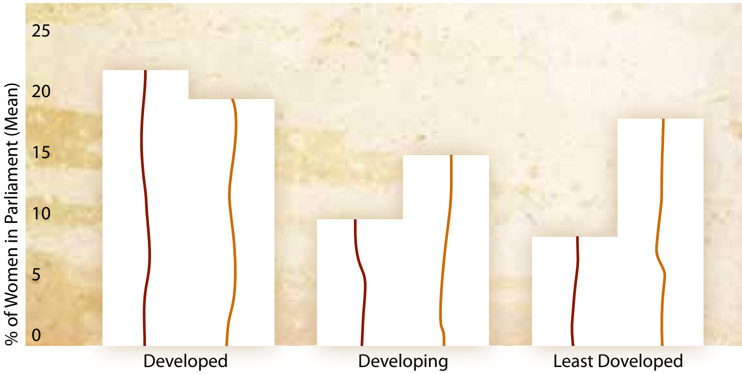


1 *Ibid.*

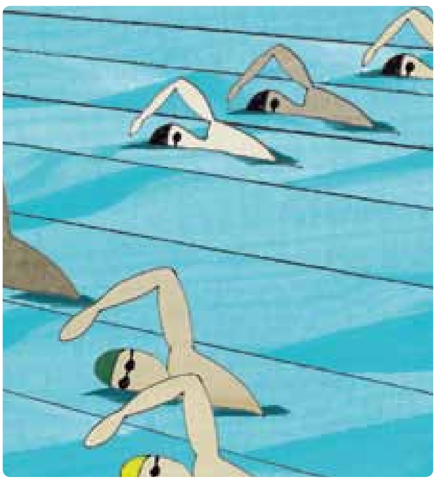
Figure 5. **Women's representation in parliaments. Correlation of the economic development of countries and the electoral system.**[1]

National Quota Legislation?

- No
- Yes



1 *Ibid.*





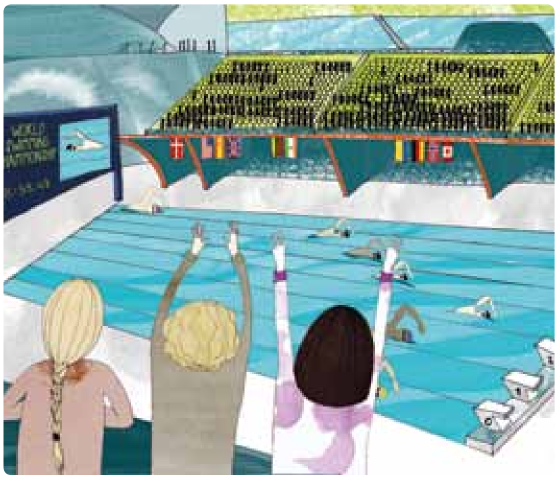
On the criteria listed above Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine fall into the category of developing countries. And it suggests that introduction of national gender quotas and electoral system of closed lists would be most favourable to increasing the number of women in national parliaments.

Global data suggests that solving the issues of improving women's political representation it is impossible to apply universal approach. Measures to promote women are to be nuanced and adapted to the local context.




BUT IF THE SOCIETY IS CAPABLE TO REALISE THAT THERE IS NO FULL-FLEDGED DEMOCRACY WITHOUT EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN, THEN WE START LOOKING FOR URGENT DECISIONS.


QUOTAS IN POLITICS IS ONE OF THEM.



INCENTIVES AND BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Academic literature refers to various barriers to women's representation in politics and measures contributing to an increase in their numbers in governmental institutions. This list combines factors that are related to the structural, interpersonal and personal reasons. Experts study the impact of electoral systems, the corporate culture of parties, social attitudes towards women in politics, the willingness of women themselves to take part in political work and other aspects. However, the analysis is unable to offer general, applicable to all contexts strategy that helps to achieve equal representation of women and men in decision-making process.

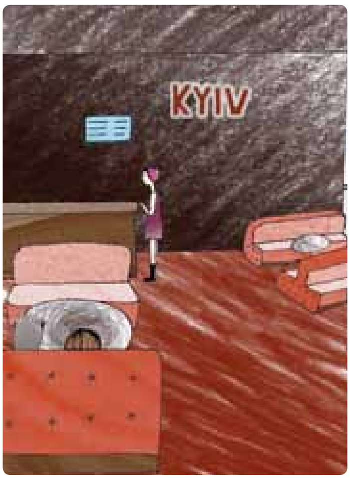


The views expressed by the Belarusian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian women who agreed to participate in an internet survey[17], show that the social political and cultural context affects the interpretation of the issue. In some cases, the views are similar, in other they differ.

Studies of world-wide values have shown that Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine belong to the category of countries with prevailing materialistic values[18] and traditional views, including on social roles of men and women. However, the majority of survey participants disagreed with the statement that "family and political activities are incompatible". In Belarus (B) 66.1 % of respondents disagreed, in Lithuania (L) - 68.2 %, Ukraine (U) - 76.2 %. The survey participants also rejected the stereotype that «women's physical weakness does not allow them to establish themselves in politics» (not accepted by L 85.6%, B 92.7%, and U 93.6%), that «women are too

17 The poll in June 2013 was carried out in June 2013 in Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine. There were 68 respondents from Belarus and Ukraine, 292 from Lithuania. The respondents were only women who shared their opinion about participating in politics.

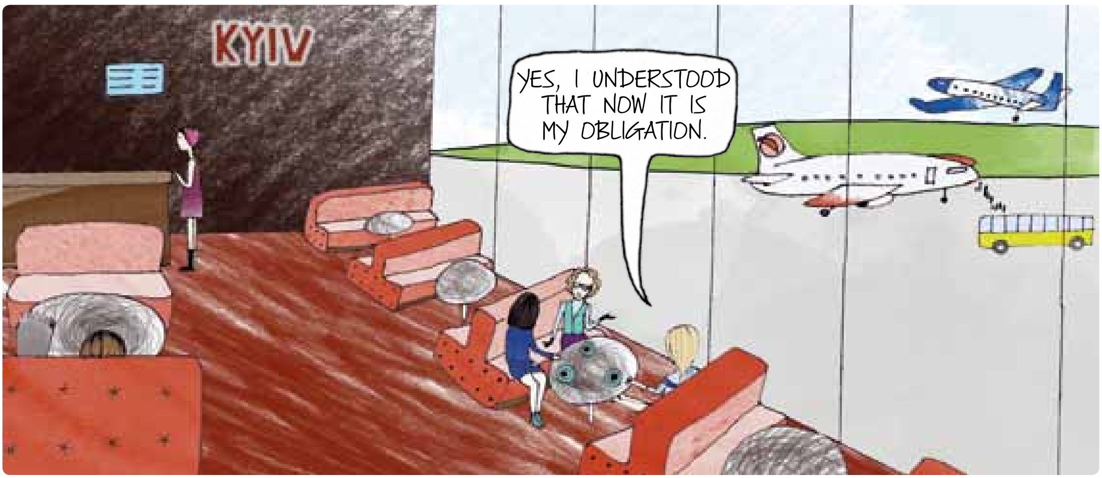
18 Ronald F. Inglehart (2008) *"Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006",* West European Politics, Vol. 31, Nos. 1–2, P.130 – 146.





emotional to participate in politics» (not accepted by B 76.5%, L 77.4%, and U 90.5%) and that «women do not have the competences required to participate in politics» (not accepted by B 80,9%, L 81.5%, and U 82.5%). However, 51.5% of Belarusian, 58.7% of Ukrainian and 68.8% of Lithuanian women believed that «it is necessary to acquire professional knowledge first and only then go into politics». Obviously, the survey participants in Lithuania were the most demanding of politicians, but at the same time expressed confidence in the competence of women. Such an assessment is not surprising, since in all three countries, women make up the majority of people with a university education.

The poll participants in all three countries were inclined to explain the insufficient number of women in politics by the influence of individual rather than institutional factors, such as stereotypes and traditional gender roles, or hostility from the side of men. With the statement «there would be more women in politics if the society's attitude towards them was more positive,» agreed 55.9 % of Lithuanian, 61.9 % of Ukrainian, and 70.3 % of Belarusian participants of the survey. The majority agreed that «more equal sharing of domestic responsibilities between women and men would



have a positive impact on the presence of women in politics» (L 59.6%, B 64.7%, and U 68.3%). Quite a large number of women did not see in men potential supporters in women's struggle for parity representation. The statement «men will always resist the appearance of women in politics, for them it is disadvantageous» was actively supported by women in Ukraine and Belarus (U 54%, B 51,5%). Lithuanian respondents were less negative, but four out of ten (40%) also supported this position. This allows to make an assumption that the poll participants consider improvement of the status of women in politics to be the task of women themselves, but they do not evaluate unsatisfactory results as their guilt or responsibility.

The opinions on the responsibility of women for the increase in their numbers in politics were divided. 52.3% of survey participants in Ukraine and 44.6% in Lithuania did not agree with the position «women are to blame for the fact that they are few in politics». 26,5% of Belarusian respondents did not have a clear opinion on this issue, and 29,5% disagreed.

The survey participants also emphasized the role and responsibilities of parties in promoting women's participation in politics. 50% of the respondents in Belarus, 66.6% in Ukraine and 68.5% in Lithuania agreed that such



support is important. However, the responses to the question about the importance of funding were not so straightforward. 52.9% of Belarusian women did not agree with the statement «financial dependence of women does not allow them to establish themselves in politics», 23.5% had no opinion. Those who agreed in Ukraine totalled 36.5%, 25.4% did not have a clear opinion, and 31.8% of the respondents agreed. In Lithuania 52.4% agreed, against 20.9% of those who did not.

According to the respondents, the issues of gender equality cannot be postponed for the future. The absolute majority did not agree with the statement «the issue of women in politics could be solved when the country overcomes the economic crisis» (not accepted by B 72.1%, L 76.4%, U 81%). The majority also supported the position «proportional representation of women and men in decision-making structures indicates a high level of democracy in the country» (B 63.2%, L 72.2%, U 73 %). However, the responses about quotas were more ambiguous. The statement «quotas would significantly improve the situation of women in politics» left 25% disagreed in Belarus, while 39.7% of the respondents agreed. In Ukraine, 17.5% disagreed and 58.7% supported the idea of quotas. In Lithuania 20,6% disagreed and 49.3% were positive about the statement. According





to the survey, the largest percentage of quotas opponents appeared to be in Belarus and of supporters in Ukraine. In Lithuania, a third of respondents could not express a clear opinion on the issue. 38% of Lithuanian, 45.6% of Belarusian and 47.6% of Ukrainian survey participants could neither clearly answer if «women feel comfortable in politics».

However, the suggestion that more women would improve the quality of policy seemed true to most of the survey participants (L 61%, B 69.1%, and U 71.4%). 1.5% of Belarusian, 0% Ukrainian, and 1% of Lithuanian respondents took the opposite view. It is obvious that Ukrainian women have the biggest expectations of women politicians.

Among the obstacles for women to participate more actively in politics, Belarusian women often called the stereotypes attributed to women, lack of self-confidence, lack of public support and support from partner and family. In Lithuania, they mentioned stereotypes attributed to women, lack of public support, lack of self-confidence, lack of support within the party and from partner and family. In Ukraine, the stereotypes attributed to women, lack of material resources, lack of support from partner and family, lack of self-confidence and lack of support within the party.



Despite some differences in the preferences given to one or another group of responses, gender stereotypes were mentioned in all three countries as the main reasons that prevent women from participating more actively in politics.

The most popular answers to the question „what would help women to be more actively involved in politics?" in Belarus was organization of courses helping women develop the necessary political skills and competence, the need for self-actualization, the desire to solve social problems, to participate in leadership programmes, and to have more influence on decision-making. In Ukraine, women expressed a preference for gender quotas in politics, for the desire to solve social problems, the need for self-actualization, a clear understanding of the process of elections and parliamentary activities. The main source of motivation for the Lithuanian survey participants were the desire to solve social problems, previous experience in politics (for example, as the assistant of an MP), courses that help women develop skills and competencies necessary in politics , gender quotas in politics and participation in leadership programmes. Thus, the respondents in Belarus considered aspects of individual growth as most important, in Lithuania the main mentioned factors were social, and in Ukraine – changes in system.






KYIV
IT WOULD ALSO BE NICE TO GET BIGGER SUPPORT FROM POLITICAL PARTIES.
SOMETIMES I HAVE AN IMPRESSION THAT THOSE PARTY LEADERS ARE DEEP-ROOTED OPPONENTS OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS...

AFTERWORD

Scholars researching the system of values in human societies, argue that economic development usually brings predictable changes in the outlook of people. The increasing wealth as well as the material, social, and physical security contribute to changing the world-view and to transition from the so-called survival values to self-expression values that create conditions for a stable democracy. However, cultural heritage, be it formed by Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam, Confucianism, or communism, leaves an indelible imprint on the world outlook of a society.[19] The system of values reflects the interaction of the driving forces of modernization and the continuing influence of tradition.

On the global map of values, Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine are surrounded by countries, where traditional values of survival still dominate the societies. Among other things it means patriarchal perception of gender roles. That is why, in spite of the different political contexts, in all three countries, women's participation in politics is undervalued, they feel a strong negative impact of gender stereotypes and lack of public support and support from party structures. However, positive trends can also be observed. The participants of the survey expressed a strong belief that the presence of women is important for the quality of government policy which anticipates qualitative changes in social practices of the three countries.

19 Ibid.

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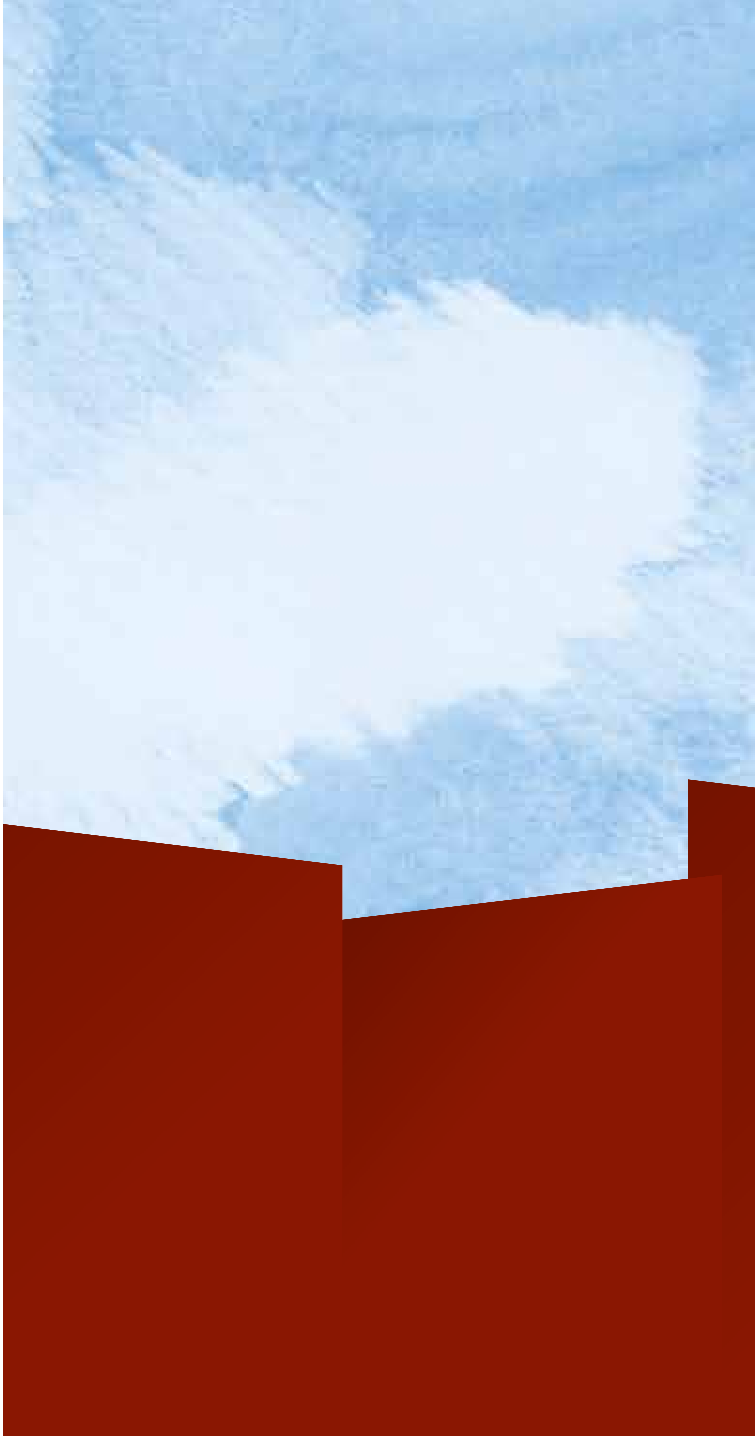
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